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would come and see me. At night I often listened to them telling folk-tales. Since most of the life was carried on outdoors I could stand on my doorstep and both see and hear the life of the hamlet about me. Here was a noisy quarrel going on, there some children playing, and in the distance, returning from the bush, some men with a wild pig they had just captured. Information was thus obtained through all these methods: regular work with informants in the privacy of my home, observation of all events in the community life, and participation, to some degree, in the casual everyday life of the natives.

I used stick tobacco as my currency in trading with the natives. Everyone—men, women, and children—smoked. They had their own native-grown tobacco, but they much preferred my Virginia twist. All my economic transactions were carried on according to native custom. I had bought with me gifts—knives, spades, loin-cloths, tinsel trimming, jews' harps, etc.—and I was on terms of gift exchange with many of the natives; the code of reciprocity was followed.

My relationship with the natives was not built up in a day. The first month I worked slowly and carefully, developing friendships and winning their confidence. I tried to be perfectly consistent in my behaviour towards them and always gave a very simple reason for everything I did. In a few months I felt secure in their friendship and liking, and I could then venture to get the more intimate details of their life.

To learn the language, which is a hitherto unrecorded Melanesian dialect with apparently Papuan elements, was the most difficult part of the work for me. I recorded texts and then, with the aid of an interpreter, analysed them. I collected a vocabulary as I went along. I listened to native

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881 another place, and at one feast Ballock urges them to dance
535 well, otherwise he says the women will not like them.

881 Like the dancing, the accompanying music is traditional,
535 but frequently there are variations in the former. Ballock
177 has evidently, as far as I can ascertain, made up the variations on the particular dance he is teaching the women. Sometimes if a boy from another island is in the village, he will teach the natives a dance from his island. One of my servants, though a native of New Ireland, had worked for a long time in the white man's capital, Rabaul, in New Britain, and she taught the Lesu women a dance she had learned there.[1] Frequently boys from different islands, working on one plantation, teach each other their dances. Out of the growing contact between the natives from various islands, it appears that the dance is the cultural trait which is the most easily and frequently diffused.

881 In the meantime the growth of the new moon is watched with interest, for when it is full that will be the time for the rites.

The last two nights preceding the rites the rehearsing is very much in earnest. Just before this they had slackened a bit. At the end of the next to last one, which is held earlier than the others at dusk, each woman pays Ballock one
● [437] stick of tobacco for his instruction. Most of them go to bed early, for the morrow will be a strenuous day.

Early in the morning the women, carrying the taro on their backs, start off for the hamlet of Ponatlege. Arriving there are also women from Ambwa, Langania, and the other hamlets of Lesu. About seventy-five or a hundred women are present. Immediately they begin the usual cooking preparations. Most of the men from Tagam are busy bringing in leaves and building the *liga*, but a few old ones sit on the ground doing nothing. At intervals the *kolamuth* is

[1] The Lesu women asked me if I would teach them a dance from my country. I refrained.

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position) in one group apart from the men. The "Luluai" then gives them the directions for the work, telling them what part of the road is to be repaired, and what is to be done, and he divides them into working groups. They then separate to work as directed.

For this road work there is no tradition. The assembling to receive directions is as much an innovation as the work itself. Not only is there no tradition, but there are none of the usual stimuli. It is "forced labour." There is no pay for it, and it is done through fear of the powerful white Government which has subdued them. There is no singing, no sociability, but instead a lack of the usual zest, a sullenness which is completely lacking from native work, and a resentful weariness at the end of the day. It is difficult for a native to understand why he should give half the time which he formerly gave to his gardens and rites to making a road, by which the white men set such a big value.

DISTRIBUTION

We have seen how people of Lesu work and what they produce. What becomes of the products of their labour? What is the system of distribution, as opposed to the production just described?

That part of the produce of labour is used for immediate consumption by the worker is obvious. The taro from the garden forms the staple of the daily meals of the man and wife who have planted the garden. The man who initiates the building of a house, working on it himself and paying others for their assistance, lives in the house when it is completed. But production for immediate consumption does not tell the whole story.

There are several different forms of exchange which are part of the system of distribution. (1) Reciprocal exchange between individuals and between groups, when exact equals

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are exchanged; (2) trade, or the selling of objects for currency, which occurs both between individuals and groups; (3) payments made for services. In all of these there is a form of exchange, but there are also some free gifts which we will first describe.

FREE GIFTS

There are a few gifts for which there is no counter gift, i.e. no exact return either in kind or currency is required. These gifts are of food and betel-nuts. The staple articles of food, taro, bananas, coconuts are never sold,[1] and are given to kindred, friends, and strangers passing through the village as an act of courtesy. There is no thought of payment in currency, or a return of the gift, but it is understood that everyone is acting on the same ethical assumption, and so even here there is a kind of reciprocity. If some people from Logagon are passing through Lesu, twenty-five miles away, they will be given food as a courtesy. If the Lesu people were in Logagon the same courtesy would be extended to them. If a man has a large catch of fish, he will partake of it himself and give part to his wife, her relatives, and the remainder to a friend or kin who is having a feast. It is understood that the friend will act in a similar way when the positions are reversed. There are also free gifts between certain kindred. The maternal uncle makes small gifts to his nephews and nieces, and a father and mother will make gifts to their own children. Brothers and sisters and husband and wife also make free gifts of food or betel-nuts and no return is expected. Gifts from a man to the relatives of his fiancée are not in this class, for they are ritual and considered part of a marriage payment. A few of the Lesu people who had been

[1] An exception to this occurs in times of drought or famine. Then food such as sago may be bought from natives on another part of the island, because there is no taro crop.

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away to work for the white man in New Hanover—the Rabaul district—said that there they had observed the custom of the sale of food between kin and friends. The New Ireland people regarded this as disgusting, and expressed their scorn in words, tone, and facial expression.

RECIPROCAL EXCHANGE

Reciprocal exchange is distinguished from trade in that in the former exactly similar objects are exchanged, while in the latter it is dissimilar objects. Reciprocity occurs between individuals and groups. There is reciprocal exchange of food between members of the opposite moieties at birth, first menstruation, circumcision, and marriage rites. At these feasts there are two piles of food, one contributed by the members of the Hawk moiety and the other by members of the Eagle moiety. The uncooked food is arranged in two piles (as at the marriage rites) looking exactly equal, and the food brought by the members of the Eagle moiety is given to the women of the Hawk moiety, and *vice versa*. At a birth feast the baked food is distributed in the same way. The Eagle women bring their taro, prepare it for baking, and place it in the *liga* themselves. They do not forget just where their bundles have been placed. Removing them from the *liga*, they give them to the women of the Hawk moiety. The taro is exactly the same, and prepared in the same fashion, so one gets exactly what one has given. But it is the exchange between members of opposite moieties which is regarded as important. While this exchange is between individuals, it is moiety structure which regulates it, and it is regarded by the natives as an exchange between moieties as well as between individuals. At the circumcision rites we saw also how the exact amounts of betel-nut and *tsera* were exchanged between members of opposite moieties.

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The mothers of the Eagle boys contributed eight *tsera*, which was distributed to the clan relatives of the Hawk boys. Their mothers also contributed eight *tsera*, which was given to the clan relatives of the Eagle boys (see Chapter IV, pp. 112–113.

There are also reciprocal gifts between individuals which have no relation to the moiety structure. In case of a quarrel the rift is mended by an exchange of exact amounts of *tsera*. For instance, there was a quarrel between Brakko and Manumat, who live in different hamlets. Brakko is the daughter of a former chief, now dead, and one of the leading women of the community. Manumat is one of the middle-aged men of the village. Manumat's sister is away working on a plantation on another island, and sent a message to Sigar, a woman of Brakko's hamlet, to come and work there also. Sigar goes and Brakko is very angry, and wants to know who will look after Sigar's garden. The women of the hamlet are very busy and Sigar's departure has upset their work. Brakko's anger is directed against Manumat (Sigar's brother) and angry words are exchanged between them. Their quarrel is witnessed by many of the villagers, who rush to see it, which is in contrast to their polite indifference to quarrels between husband and wife. A few days later Manumat gives Brakko five *tsera* and she gives him another five *tsera*. This reciprocal exchange ends the quarrel, although the final conclusion is not till a month later, when there is a feast, for which Manumat provides the pig. It is assumed that he has been the one to blame, or at least his sister, whose blame he takes.

Then there are reciprocal gifts for which there is no ritual or any other reason, as far as can be observed. These gifts are a portion of a pig. At the usual feast all the pigs are not consumed, and a head, or hind quarter, or some other fairly large portion of the animal, is given by the owner to someone present. This may be a return gift for a similar present which

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435 a scale of value which does not vary, but in the case of pigs,
556 where there is variation, the social incentive is not to pay the least amount, but rather to pay the biggest price and increase one's prestige thereby.

437 Pigs are the most usual objects of trade, and so we will
527 consider their buying and selling in detail. They are almost always purchased in connection with some ritual feast—mortuary, marriage, etc. If it is a very large ritual feast, such as a *malanggan* one, preparations are begun a long time in advance. Perhaps ten months before the rite a preliminary feast will be held to make the arrangements. At this time the buyers and sellers of pigs for the future feast are designated. The man who will buy a pig gives a bundle of baked sago to the man who will later sell it to him. But this does not happen haphazardly at the feast, and for a week before one such feast which I witnessed the men were busy every evening discussing the details of the arrangements.

437 Then months later, when the ritual feast is held, the pigs are there and payment is made for them after the feast is over. When the men come out of the cemetery, where most feasts are held, the sale is concluded before all the men and women of the community assembled in the open compound. The man making the payment holds up a string of *tsera* and makes a short speech, naming the person to whom he is paying it. The *tsera* is held outstretched, one man at each end, so that everyone can see the amount. It is then handed over to the man or woman who sold the pig. Payments for all objects, such as fishing-nets, ornaments, etc., are always made in public in this manner, for which the natives give two reasons. First, everyone has witnessed the transaction and seen that it is all right; secondly, everyone knows what has been paid for the object, and should the owner want to resell it, he must get the same amount. It is a registration of the transaction. There is thus no buying or selling for profit.

432 Objects are always resold for exactly what they cost, and

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OTHER SERVICES

465 342 437 Besides magical and medical services, there are many others for which payment is made. Compensation is made for services of any kind. For instance, one man wanted to put a new roof on his house as the old one leaked. He spent a day in the bush collecting the necessary sago leaves, and the next day all the men from his hamlet and some from neighbouring ones helped him make the thatching. At the end of the day he gave them a feast and each man also received a stick of tobacco. Both the food and the tobacco are considered as payments for the assistance in thatching the roof. A few days later his father and brother helped him put the thatched leaves on the frame of the roof. This work took two days. There was no feast at the completion of the job, but each man received tobacco in payment. Similar payments are made for building a fence around a garden.

465 535 437 Those who participate in the dances at marriage, circumcision, and funeral rites receive payment. The dancers at *malanggan* rites, however, are not paid, except those who wear masks (*anis*). At the circumcision rites all the women who danced received food and tobacco from the women of Ponatlege, who were the mothers and clan relatives of the boys being circumcised.[1] When the food was distributed there was a speech indicating that it was in payment for the contribution of dancing. At the marriage rites of Tsuros all the dancers received tobacco and food. A few were given loin-cloths also. It will be remembered that at one of the rehearsals for these dances, when the women were laughing and not taking their dancing very seriously, they were reprimanded by an old man, who told them to dance better or they would not deserve the tobacco to be paid them later. At the all-night

[1] At the rites a month later, when the boys came out from their seclusion and the *malanggans* were displayed, the men who danced (with the exception of those wearing masks) were not paid.

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465 dancing at the funeral rites for an old woman the dancers
535 were urged on by the shouts of the old woman's daughter,
437 who told them of the tobacco they would receive in the morning. It is obvious that both men and women enjoy their dancing, and that payment for it is not a primary consideration. The dancing is a very deep and integral part of the traditional and ritual part of the life of the society, as well as a means of self-expression for the individual. Yet dancing falls into the general culture pattern, and, since it is considered a service to those for whom the rites are held, it is paid for. The dancing teacher, who may teach a variation of an old dance, or a completely new one learned on another island, or rehearse the old steps, receives his payment too. At the end of the rehearsals, and just before the rite is to be performed, he receives a stick of tobacco from each of his "pupils."

465 Another ritual service which always receives its compensa-
767 tion is that of carrying a corpse from the house where it had been resting to its grave in the cemetery. Those who perform
616 this service are always of the opposite moiety from the dead
437 person, and, while it is a ritual obligation for them, they are paid with a small piece of *tsera* or one shilling.

437 Even for sexual enjoyment there is a payment of currency.
837 For all extra-marital intercourse the man makes a payment of one *tsera* to the woman, who hands it over to her husband. This aspect will be considered more fully in the discussion of sexual life, but it must be noted here that the woman would consider it disgraceful if the payment were not made, and that there is nothing similar in the payment to the custom of prostitution of our Western civilization. A woman does not sleep with her lover for the payment any more than he or she dances for a payment, but the payment is part of it. Underlying the payment is the principle of reciprocity which is such an integral part of the whole culture.

583 Marriage payments are in the same class. We have already
437

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583 seen how the husband makes a payment of *tsera* to the mother and close clan relatives of the bride, and how he is assisted 437 by his own clan relatives in collecting the necessary payment. But the payment could in no way be considered a purchase. It has the binding force of a rite, and has the same function that the church or court-house has in the marriage rites of our culture. The marriage of a girl involves no loss to her clan. Residence is matrilocal; the community receives a new member and hence a new worker; the clan relatives receive frequent gifts of fish and services in the garden from the husband. No family marries off a daughter to receive the payment, yet she could not be married without the payment any more than a girl in a Western civilization could be married without a church or legal ceremony of some kind.[1]

437 We can see how the principles of payment and reciprocity are much more than economic laws, operating exclusively 183 in the realm of barter, but are instead forces underlying the whole culture. Nothing, with the exception of food between kindred and friends, can be given or done for nothing.

TRADE BETWEEN GROUPS—SALE OF A *MALANGGAN*

438 The principle of reciprocity applies to group as well as to individual, and is brought out in the sale of a *malanggan*, as described below. This transaction comes under the heading of trade, and is the sale of the right to make a ritual carving and the rites connected with it. The *malanggan* and its significance in mortuary rites are described in Chapter VIII. Here only the economic import of the sale is noted.

Poinbi and Kanot, of the village of Logagon, about twenty-five miles from Lesu, and belonging to another linguistic

[1] When I described our marriage customs to my native friends, they were quite scandalized at the lack of payment, and asked how it could be a true marriage. They were almost equally shocked at the Continental custom of the bride bringing a dowry. One native compared a Christian marriage with no payment to the mating of pigs.

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unit, want to make a *malanggan* for Watlau, who has been dead for some time. Kanot is his son and Poinbi his maternal nephew.[1] Poinbi is the one who comes to Lesu to buy the *malanggan* and attends to all the business concerning it. Kanot goes to Tabar, where he has clan relatives, in order to get their financial assistance for the enterprise.

In the middle of August Poinbi comes to Lesu and makes arrangements to buy from Palou the right to make the *Puiba malanggan* of the *Sasabwan* class. Palou is the leading old man of the Sinpop clan, and learned the design and rites connected with the *Puiba malanggan* from his maternal uncle and grandfather. They had learned it in a dream from their *gas*. Palou consents to sell it, and thus relinquishes his right to make this particular kind of *malanggan*. It is understood that the payments will be made when it is finished and the rites are held.

Poinbi returns to Logagon, and a few days later the making of the *malanggan* begins. All the men from Penguli (Palou's hamlet) go to the bush to cut down a tree trunk; they come back in the afternoon singing gaily as they walk with their heavy load. There is a festive air about the beginning of the undertaking. Later Palou pays them with tobacco and coconuts. A small house is now made on the beach near the cemetery, and Palou marks its completion with a feast for all the men who have helped build it. He buys a pig from Manumat for the occasion, and there are also taro and coconuts. Palou will pay the women who have contributed the taro after he has been paid by Poinbi at the conclusion of the rites.

Kanua, the skilled carver of Lesu, now begins to work. Palou pays him one *tsera* in advance, and sits with him in the little house, showing him how to carve the *malanggan*.

[1] There is thus a contradiction here—a clan and a non-clan relative co-operating to make a *malanggan* for the same dead person. This is one of the exceptions always occurring in any functioning society.

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532 The figures are those of Poinbi's maternal uncle, father, brother-in-law, and two others. The bird is an ordinary one of the bush. There are two snakes, which represent the *tsinanis* snakes of the Sinpop clan. A round design in the centre, *mutenalin*, represents the dawn, or the light just before sunrise, but not the sun itself.[1]

532 562 Every evening while the *malanggan* is being made the men of Penguli and near-by hamlets eat together communally, and every week there is a special feast for the men, for no apparent reason except that it is connected with the *malanggan*. It must be remembered that it is taboo for the women to look at *malanggans*, and that it is only the men who are directly concerned with them. It is interesting to note also that while it is being made there is a drawing together of the men and a separation from the women, in the male communal eating every night. Although the women, as usual, prepare the taro, one realizes very clearly that the undertaking is predominantly a masculine one.

532 437 In two months' time, by the middle of October, the *malanggan* has been carved but not painted.[2] Now the men sit up until past midnight discussing its removal to Logagon and all the necessary preliminary arrangements. The Logagon people have sent word for them to come on a certain day, but they decide to go a few days before this, because they say that they have so much work to do. When they get to Logagon they must paint the *malanggan*, build a house to hold it, and teach the people there the rites. This is their work, and they talk about it with a sort of pride—that they must do their own work and not have others do it.

437 The men have a feast in the late afternoon of the day before they start off on their journey to Logagon. The next

[1] The last time Palou made this *malanggan* was at the time his maternal nephew was circumcised, and the figures on it then represented his dead wife and his dead Sinpop (his clan) relatives.

[2] Kanua was interrupted in the middle of his work and went to a bush hamlet to carve a small *malanggan*, which was a "rush" order.

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morning, just after sunrise, they set off, walking and carrying upon their shoulders the *malanggan*, completely covered with leaves. Two old men, Towi and Ridis, start a little in advance of the others because they cannot walk so fast and they want a good start. The men go off gaily and with an air of great importance. The women stand and chatter for a while and talk jestingly about how they are now all alone, and they ask rhetorically who will go and kill the bush pig. 437

About a week later the women go to Logagon, carrying bundles of uncooked taro with them, and a week after that —two weeks after the men have arrived—the preliminary rites are held. In the meantime the men have been busy rehearsing the dances, making costumes, masks, and painting the *malanggan*. The women from Lesu and Logagon have also been busy preparing the taro. A specially large communal cook-house has been erected for the occasion. The preliminary rites which have been postponed for the arrival of the Tabar men, who have been expected daily, are finally held on November 4th, even though the boat from Tabar has not come. It was decided that they could be delayed no longer.

The rites held are the most beautiful, from an aesthetic point of view, that I saw. They begin on the outside of the enclosure when two men with grass skirts and feather head-dresses, representing *gas*, come from the bush to the open compound, carrying shell rattles, which they keep vibrating. Then everyone goes into the enclosure, which contains the unpainted *malanggan*. The place is beautifully decorated, and the dancers are in their places ready to begin. 437 535

Each dancer wears a feather head-dress and carries a bird's beak in his mouth. These represent the birds, *kania*, who sit on logs and reefs in the sea and look at sharks. The dancers kneel in their places, and with hands clasped behind their backs sway in unison, which is a dramatization of the

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437 birds sitting on the reef or in trees. The effect is really lovely,
535 and is much appreciated by the audience.[1]

As soon as the dance is over there is a feast inside the
437 enclosure for the men, and one outside for the women. At
537 the men's feast there are three pigs and much baked taro. The bundles of food are opened up and served in the usual fashion by "waiters" on leaves. Then payments of *tsera* are given to Palou, the owner of the *malanggan*, and each man making the payment makes a short speech telling what the payment is for and how much it is.[2] After this Ongas, the Luluai from Lesu, makes a speech reciting the incidents leading up to the present occasion: how Poinbi came and asked them to make a *malanggan*; how they made it; how they have now been paid for it; and how Penguli can no longer make this particular *malanggan*. Throughout all the speeches the name of the hamlet of Penguli, and not that of the village of Lesu, is used.

487 In the meantime, while the men are eating and making payments and speeches, the women have their feast outside the enclosure in a manner peculiar to this *malanggan*. They sit in a square formation on the bamboo logs which have been laid on the ground to mark an enclosed space. Some are inside serving the food. Inside the square a little tree, *numales*, [201] has been stuck in the ground, from which is hung a scraped, uncooked taro, painted with red stripes. This is a sign that the payments have been made. In the distribution of the food, pig and taro, the Lesu women take the lead, although most of the food comes from the women of Logagon. When the women finish eating, they stand up and circle around the square where they have been feasting, and sing.

437 For the next few days, after these preliminary rites, everyone is quite busy with preparations for the future rites. Very early every morning the women go to the gardens, which are

[1] This rite is called *Baummaen*.
[2] All the payments will be described in detail later.

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a long way off in the hills, and do not return until late afternoon, and every evening at sunset they rehearse their dances. One day, just before the final rites, the rehearsal of a rather complicated dance broke up amid much excited and rather angry chatter, because the dancing had not been well done.

The men are also busy rehearsing their dances, making masks, costumes, etc.

Four days after the preliminary rites were held the men from Tabar arrived. In the boat are Kanot, of Logagon, several young men, mostly his clan relatives, and a few young boys from Tabar.

After the pigs have been placed in a little shelter close to the enclosure and the people are all in the compound outside it, Muratz, one of the men arriving from Tabar and a clan relative of Kanot, stands up and talks. "Suppose," he says, "no one had come to Tabar to tell me about these rites, I could not have come. But Kanot came and told me, and so now I have come. Should all this have happened a long time ago, I would not have come here. For suppose I had come a long time ago, there would have been fighting and I would have died. (Referring to the wars in the past, when all strangers were possible enemies.) But now it is a good time, for there is no fighting.[1] I have brought a few pigs and I am quite ashamed of them. They are not large pigs, but only very small pigs. Suppose Kanot should have come and talked about many big pigs, then many big pigs would have been bought. But he talked only about little pigs, and so I have bought only little (few) pigs. Now I am very much ashamed of the little (few) pigs.

"Suppose the Luluai had come, he would have talked much better than I have. I am not an important person. I

[1] Many natives think that the abolition of warfare by the white Government is beneficial to them. In discussing it, they seem to appreciate particularly the freedom to move about among different peoples, who belong to other linguistic districts, without fear of war.

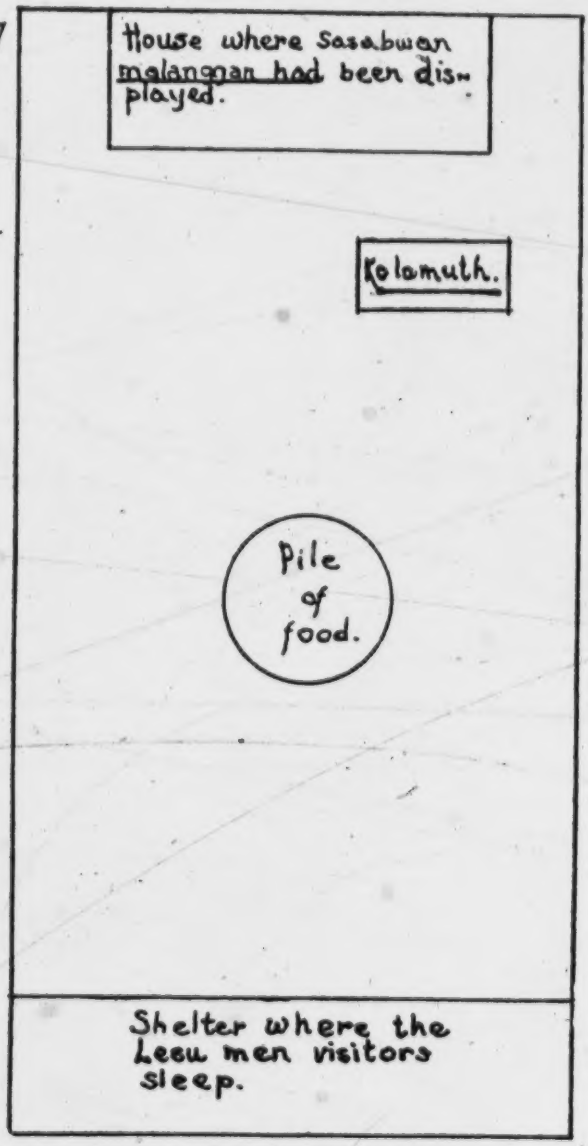

DIAGRAM OF *BANUS* (ENCLOSURE) AFTER REMOVAL OF *MALANGGAN*

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am just an ordinary or "small" fellow. Now I have talked more than enough, and I am finished."

This speech is typical in its self-depreciation and its expression of shame over the smallness of the contributions. After Muratz finishes speaking everyone disperses and is busy with the preparations for a feast which will be held in the afternoon.

Late in the day the *kolamuth* is sounded for ten or fifteen minutes to call the men to the enclosure, where a small feast is to be held. The *malanggan* has been taken away and all the former decorations are gone.

When they have finished eating Poinbi stands up and talks. Translated freely, he says that he is cross with the men of Logagon because they are not helping him properly with *tsera*, etc. The men from the next village (in the direction of Kavieng) have assisted him materially, but the Logagon men have fallen down on the job. There is no retort to his charge, and it is expected that Kanot will also talk to the Logagon men later. Kanot's mother is a Tabar native and she still lives there. He spends his time between the two places, and likes particularly to stop on his mother's land. He indicates that he may go to Tabar to live, since the Logagon men have behaved so disgracefully.

After Poinbi finishes his speech four people come up and give him *tsera*. A little boy about four or five years old delivers the *tsera*. Then Poinbi gives the *tsera* which has just been given him to Palou. Another young boy is used to carry the *tsera* from Poinbi at one end of the enclosure to the other end where Palou is standing. There is always the formality of using a young boy as a messenger.

The feast now begins. The pigs are cut and the food distributed by "waiters," as is the custom. A different leaf is used for a plate than is used at Lesu. While they are eating a man stands up, holding the bone of a pig, and announces that the final rites will be held in five days. (There has been

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437 much discussion as to the day for holding these, particularly since the arrival of the Tabar men was delayed.) He then 537 calls out the names of all the Lesu men. The men continue eating, but at the same time Luna, an important old man of Poinbi's clan, rises and walks up and down, singing and speaking. He calls the name of a pig Loanga, the pig in the Tsenabonpil myth, which ate men. He says: "Palou has come with the *malanggan*, and as a razor cuts hair[1] so has Palou come and taken all the *tsera* in pay. This is Watlau's day. (Watlau is the name of the dead man for whom this *malanggan* is made.) He was an important man who lived some time ago. Now I am an important man belonging to the time of Watlau. This time to which Watlau and I belong is different from to-day. To-day is not the same kind of time as it was in the past. To-day there are not so many little pigs, or so much *tsera*. The days of the past are finished. To the time of Watlau belongs Nutmei (name of an important man who died a long time before)." Then the speaker walks around all the pigs, hits each one with his spear, and calls out the names of Oma, Maizip, Melung, Shalut, etc., all men from Muniwai, the next village, who have assisted in the payments for the *malanggan*. He talks at length on how poor they are now, but there is no self-pity. It is a statement of fact, combined with a certain amount of pride that they have paid so much. He thinks that later someone farther down the road will buy this *malanggan* from them in turn (or rather will buy the privilege of making it), and then they will be paid plenty of *tsera* and be rich again. The speech marks the conclusion of the feast.

437 Three days later the *malanggan* has been painted and placed in the special house within the enclosure, and that afternoon the men have a small feast there. Before the eating begins Poinbi solemnly and ritually hands over more *tsera* to Palou, and then, standing by the pile of food, makes a short speech,

[1] These natives know about razor blades.

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saying that his clan relatives from Tabar have assisted him very materially in these rites. One long piece of *tsera*, several units, is given to a Tabar man in payment for a pig. After this the bundles of taro are opened and the two pigs cut up and distributed. 437

This feast marks the final payment of *tsera*. Though most of it is given to Palou, it is considered as being given also to Towi and Tukan, and it is understood that Palou will distribute it to them. Palou is the important old man of the Sinpop clan, and Tukan is his maternal nephew, and hence also of his clan. Towi is married to a Sinpop woman, and has a claim on the payment because his son, who died some years ago, was Sinpop, and if alive would be part-owner of the *malanggan* and receiver of part of the payment. Towi, his father, now acts as a sort of deputy for him. Of course, Towi's wife is Sinpop too, but in discussing it the natives do not mention her, but stress the fact that it is for the son that Towi is acting.

The total payment is 180 *tsera*, besides much tobacco and many loin-cloths. At the native rate of exchange, one *tsera* equalling five shillings, this is equal to £45 in Australian currency, or $225. Of this 140 *tsera* is paid to Palou of Penguli, while the remainder is paid to Tabar people who contributed pigs and helped in other ways. At Logagon Palou immediately distributes thirty of the *tsera* to thirteen people from Penguli, men and women who have helped him in the preparations. The individual payments range from one to five. Palou gives thirty more *tsera* to his own three children, to a maternal niece (sister's daughter), and to another sister's daughter's daughter. These five recipients of *tsera* are all members of the Sinpop clan. The remainder is supposed to belong to Palou, Towi, and Tukan. 437 435

After Palou has made the distribution at Logagon, Tukan and a few others are cross because they do not think he has paid them adequately. The dissatisfaction is felt particularly 437 578

437 578 by Tukan, and he and four or five others, who are also discontented, go back to Lesu several days before the rest. The situation never comes to a climax, and there is no open quarrel between Palou and Tukan; there is not even an exchange of words. Palou is Tukan's *tata*, mother's brother, and this relationship forbids Tukan from expressing his feelings of anger. His resentment has to be repressed and his only recourse is to leave. But if it had not been for this relationship there would have been an outspoken quarrel and probably a fight. In discussing the matter with the natives, it is interesting to note that they are fully aware of the principle that the anger is worse because it cannot be expressed, and this idea comes out quite spontaneously from them when they talk about the matter. Later, after all the Penguli people have returned to their own hamlet, Palou gives Tukan some additional *tsera*, and the matter is ended. Tukan himself, in talking it over with me afterwards, says that it was just a little dispute, because Palou is his maternal uncle; otherwise, he adds, it might have been a big quarrel.

437 Resuming the description of the concluding rites, which are held on the day after the final payments have been made, the women are busy scraping taro and with other usual cooking preparations for a feast. The Lesu women work with the Logagon women, although all along they have sat in separate groups. However, the Lesu women have been very sociable with the women of this village, and tell me that they get very little sleep, because they spend most of the night talking with the Logagon women. But despite this sociability they do not feel so very much at home, and say that they are tired and a bit homesick. They are anxious to get back to Lesu and their gardens, about which they are worried. However, they industriously continue with the preparations for the morrow's rites.

437 535 In the evening the men, women, and children participate in a dance at the same time. (This is the first time I witnessed

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a dance in which both sexes took part.) It has two names, *Lumala* and *Pandawasik*. The dance is in circular formation, and each person shakes a shell rattle rhythmically. Both the Logagon and Lesu people are in it, and it is one of the special dances connected with this *malanggan*. It is supposed to be kept up all night, until dawn of the next day. But Logagon is the home of a Catholic Mission, and at ten o'clock the "Father" blows his whistle, the dancing stops, and everyone goes sedately home.

The next morning, shortly after sunrise, the women have a brief rehearsal of their dance. In the afternoon the rites begin with dancing, which continues for several hours. The men and women dance separately, and the dances are similar to the ones performed at other rites already described.

After the dances are finished there is a distribution of uncooked yams, taro, and twelve singed but uncooked pigs. There is no eating now; everyone carries his food home. During the distribution, which occurs in the open space in front of the enclosure and cook-house, the Lesu people remain within the cook-house, a little distance from where the apportionment is taking place. This is a sign that they do not wish any of the food which is being dispersed, for they will leave Logagon as soon as this is over and they do not want to be hindered on the long walk home by carrying bundles. The only thing they do take is sago, which they rarely get at Lesu.

They depart about sunset and walk all night, although if some are very tired they may stop at some place *en route*. They are all extremely anxious to return to their own village, for which there is a real nostalgia.

On Thursday, the day after the rites are over, Logagon people sleep all day. They are very tired.

The Lesu people left Wednesday about sunset, and got back to their own village at noon on Thursday. They are all exhausted and sleep for the rest of the day. But the next

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morning they go to their gardens. Some find them intact, while in others the pigs have wrought havoc, as was feared. They settle into the accustomed routine, and are obviously glad to be back.

Two days after the return to Penguli there is a feast to mark the occasion of cleaning the little house in which the *malanggan* was made. The chips of wood and other debris are carefully swept out of the house. There is sago for the feast, and the men are busy preparing it, while the women scrape the taro which will accompany it. The sago is shredded until it is mealy, mixed with water and made into a loaf, similar to bread. It is then wrapped in leaves and baked in the *liga*. At the feast Ongas, the Luluai and orator, makes a speech recounting all the past events—the making of the *malanggan*, taking it to Logagon, the rites there, and the payment for it, and now this marks the conclusion of the rites.

Almost three months have elapsed since Poinbi first came to Penguli and made arrangements for the making of the *malanggan*. There has been much ritual dancing and feasts. Poinbi and his group have expended a great deal of wealth. He and his community are poor now, but he has honoured his dead relatives and acquired much prestige. Those who have helped him have also acquired prestige. The acquisition of the right to make the *malanggan*, which they bought from Palou, is also a financial asset, for eventually they will resell the right to make this *malanggan* to someone else and get all the wealth back which they have now laid out. Palou and his associates have lost the right to make the *malanggan*, but are rich. Eventually they too will use this wealth to buy the right to make a new *malanggan*.

A social and ceremonial undertaking has set a very large amount of wealth into circulation. The economic transaction has been on a communal scale, with two men acting as leaders, and the principle of everything (service or material

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764 time the wailing reaches its climax. Everyone wails, but the chief
[152] mourner—the consort, parent, child, sister, or brother, as the case may be—clings to the head of the corpse and wails more intensely than the others. Ridae, the widow of Wakatai, alternately waved her arms, wrung her hands, clasped the breast of the corpse and wailed, asking dramatically between the wails what was to become of her now. At another funeral, Lungam, the husband of Kawitti, behaved similarly. They follow the coffin into the cemetery, the wailing becoming louder as it is lowered into a shallow grave. As the loose ground is thrown over the grave and the coffin is covered, the wails are particularly shrill. Finally, when the grave is completely covered over, the wailing ceases, and if the chief mourner is a woman she leaves the cemetery. If a man, he remains where he is.

[152] Now comes the feast. The climax of wailing and outburst of emotions is followed by quiet and calm. Outside the cemetery the women sit and casually chat and laugh and louse one another, or perhaps munch a taro. It is difficult to realize that these are the same people who fifteen minutes before were the participants in an intense emotional scene. Inside the cemetery, where the men are gathered, there is the same tranquillity. The baked taro and pig are distributed in the usual manner.[8] The man who is responsible for giving the feast, a son or maternal nephew or maternal uncle, makes a short speech to the effect that this feast is being held for the person who just died. Then the men eat. They appear quite cheerful and there is nothing subdued or sad about the gathering. The only thing that marks it from a feast not held at the time of the burial is that a few of the men may be so tired that they are asleep on the sand just outside the cemetery and a few people present in the cemetery are not eating at all. These are the husband, brother, maternal nephew, and perhaps a brother's son (all clan relatives with the exception of the husband).

764 As soon as the burial feast is over the men come out of the
614 cemetery, and there in the compound, where the women are present,
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[8]For a more detailed description of the feasts see the writer's article, Feasts in New Ireland, *American Anthropologist* (in press).

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the payments are ritually made to the owners of the pigs which were consumed at the feast, to the dancers, and to those who carried the corpse to the grave. In each case it is a close clan relative, a son, or mother's sister's son, a mother, or a mother's brother who makes the payments. It is never the surviving consort. While one person, such as a son, is considered responsible for the feast, he is assisted by other members of his clan (which is the same as that of the dead person). At the funeral of the old woman, Maling, there were fifteen pigs, all contributed, or rather paid for, by the members of her clan. Her mother's sister's son contributed three, and each one of the other clan relatives one. Most of these pigs were purchased from other people, regardless of clan or moiety, and it was to these people that the payments were made. The man making the payment held up a piece of *tsera* (shell currency) and called out the name of the man or woman to whom he was paying it and mentioned also what the payment was for. At another funeral there were ten pigs and a total payment of 39 *tsera* made for them, 32 out of the 39 being paid by clan relatives of the dead person. The remaining 7 were paid by the following three people, her husband, the chief (whose father was of the same clan as the dead woman), and another man who was of the same moiety, but of a different clan from the dead woman. This man was unmarried and most of his clan relatives were dead. He was a classificatory brother of the dead woman and she had frequently given him food. His contribution now of two *tsera* for a small pig was considered as a reciprocal gift to her. The general rule is that clan relatives pay for all the pigs and services. The exceptions just noted merely indicate that this primitive society is, like all societies, flexible in carrying out its rules.

The officiating clan relative also makes the payment to the dancers and pall-bearers.

The taro for the feast is contributed by all the women of the hamlet and the neighbouring hamlets, the clan relatives bringing a little bit more than the others, but in the matter of taro there is no fine distinction drawn as in the case of payment for pigs. Every woman brings the taro from her garden, and it involves no question of payment. Taro is never sold on any occasion, but pigs are a common object of trade.

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Members of the society come together at a feast to welcome a new member, to mourn the loss of an old one, to mark a change in the social status of the individual through circumcision, menstruation, or marriage, to note the return to the society of a member after a temporary withdrawal through illness, and before a communal enterprise such as war. Should there be a rift occasioned by a quarrel, it is the coming together over food that mends it.[3] On all these occasions society manifests its unity. While the rites vary according to the event, food is a common denominator of all of them.

The feast provides not only an opportunity for the society to express collectively those sentiments which maintain its existence, but it also serves more concretely as the occasion for the transaction of much of the business and social (apart from ritual) life of the community. It is at the feasts that trade is carried on. Payments are made for objects and services, and future trading operations are arranged. On the same occasion individuals and groups exchange gifts. A feast also frequently becomes a meeting where matters of importance are discussed. Finally, it is a sociable occasion for both sexes, when jokes and gossip are exchanged.

The second function affects the relation of the individual to his group and the relation between several individuals. The native's explanation of why he gives a feast is that he must do so to gain prestige. Rather does he put it in a negative way, that, unless he gives a feast on any of the occasions which demand one, he will be a person of no account: everyone will talk about him in a derogatory fashion, saying that he has no food or wealth, and is not able to give a feast. To a native this kind of gossip is most noxious; a lowering of his prestige must be avoided at any cost, and the number and the size of the feasts he gives are most important in affecting his position.

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(4) The ceremonial customs of a society are a means by which the sentiments in question are given collective expression on appropriate occasions. (5) The ceremonial (i.e., collective) expression of any sentiment serves both to maintain it at the requisite degree of intensity in the mind of the individual and to transmit it from one generation to another."

Professor Radcliffe-Brown has applied this theory to Andaman society and has described the various ritual occasions in the Andaman society which serve to maintain and strengthen these sentiments. He has not, however, applied his theory or mentioned it in connection with feasts. His theory of the social value of food is that "food is a possession of the society, that not only the power to obtain food, but also the power to use it without danger is something that the individual owes to society, and that the bestowal upon him of this power involves the acceptance on his part of corresponding obligations" (p. 278). This theory deals with the social value of food itself and how society overcomes the danger resulting from the social value. The above article is concerned with quite a different aspect, namely, the social function of eating.

[3] This is just the final mark that the quarrel is over. Preceding the feast there is an exchange of 'sarγ (currency) between the two disputants.

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264 574 In the cemetery the food is eaten with traditional etiquette. The men sit on the ground around the sides of the cemetery. At one end is the pile of food and near it the host or hosts. The bundles of food are opened by the host usually, and then it is customary for him to make a speech, explaining the reason for the feast and mentioning those who have contributed food to it. Several young men act as "waiters" and place a banana leaf on the ground in front of each man, or sometimes one leaf for every two or three men. Then the waiters evenly distribute the food on these leaves, each one getting exactly the same number of taro, bananas, etc. A "waiter" takes as many taro as he can hold and puts about three on each leaf and then he takes another lot and distributes them, until they are evenly divided. At a highly ritual feast, which I attended, for the display of malanggons during circumcision rites, ten men acted as waiters, advancing in a line to the pile of food, picking it up in unison, walking to the leaf plates, and then after waiting for a signal from one of the hosts, put the food down at exactly the same moment. The signal was: "Arurini la pɨlɣ" (Put it on ground).

No one ever begins to eat until all the food has been apportioned. At the feast just mentioned a second signal was given for this. The two hosts walked silently the length of the enclosure in which the feast was being held, each holding a small pig's bone. The guests were silent. Then the hosts threw the bones away and the eating started. At less important and less formal feasts this signal is frequently omitted, but even then no one ever eats before the "waiters" have finished their work of distribution. Then the guests eat, but not the host. It would be considered very bad form for a host to eat at his own feast.

Trade after the Feast

437 574 When the men have finished eating, business affairs of varying nature are conducted. If pigs have been eaten at the feast, payment is now made for them. A string of 'sɛrɣ (shell currency) is held up by the man giving the feast and he says to whom he is paying it and what for. Then the 'sɛrɣ is handed over to the seller of the pig. Should the occasion be a very big feast at which many pigs were consumed, this payment will usually be made outside the cemetery, where the 'sɛrɣ can be given to the women owners of the pigs as well as to the men.

Any other payments due are made at this time. Should a man have purchased a dog, he now makes the payment to the former owner. Preparations are also made for future trading arrangements. One feast was held particularly to arrange for the purchase of pigs to be used at malanggon rites ten months later. The people who would sell their pigs for these com-

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ing rites were given bundles of baked sago. The chief called out their names and the sago was given to them. This "marked" them as those who would sell pig for the future rites. The names of some women were called, and when the feast was over they came up to the cemetery to get their sago.

Gift Exchange

The feast is not only the time for payments and arrangements for future trading, but also for gifts. Usually not all the pigs are consumed at the feasts, and large portions, a head or half the body, will be presented to some one present. Sometimes this is a return gift for a present of half a pig which had been made six months ago, or perhaps it is a new gift to a man, who will return it at another feast. The gifts are always made ceremonially, the name of the recipient being called, and then the piece of pig is handed to him by one of the "waiters."

Discussion

At the end of the feast other matters of importance and current interest are discussed. If dance rehearsals are in progress, one man will make a speech exhorting the men to dance well and to practice rigorously. Or the chief may map out plans for a coming big feast, that is, when they will bring in the bananas to be buried in the sand,[13] when they will fish, what day the women will prepare the taro, etc. Or perhaps, as happened at one feast I attended, the weather was the subject of discussion. The rainy season (time of northwest monsoon) had begun, and for several weeks there had been a deluge of rain. Everyone was disgusted at having to slide about in the wet mud, and much more serious was the threatened danger to the taro crops. After the men had finished eating, the old and rather famous rain magician, Bullagot, made a long speech, encouraging the men and telling them that the excessive amount of rain was due to the magician of a neighboring village, but that he would counteract this by making his own magic to stop the rain. He was followed by other old men, all making speeches of a similar nature, exhorting people not to be downhearted, saying that Bullagot would stop the rain. The younger men listened and were impressed. It was not unlike a Biblical scene where the ancient prophets encouraged the people in a time of famine or other hardship.

Occasionally a concluding speech is made, although this does not happen very frequently. At the feast to make arrangements for buying the pigs for the future malanggon rites, the chief made a concluding speech, during

[13] Bananas are buried in the sand on the beach about a week previous to a feast. The resulting banana is very soft and squashy.

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which he walked up and down singing and talking. He gave once more the reason for the feast, said they had now "marked" all the pigs, and then made a few more remarks about the size of the animals and the number of men present.

Finally, each man makes a rude coconut-leaf basket in which he carries home the remains of his food. But before they leave, the men carefully clean the cemetery and throw all debris into the sea, near which the cemetery is always placed. Not a scrap of food nor any other refuse, such as a leaf "plate," remains, the cemetery being left in the same neat condition that it was in before the feast. This work done, hands are washed in the sea (the sea as a finger bowl is one of its many uses for the native), and then the men drift away singly or in small groups, each carrying his basket with the remains of the food.

Reciprocity Between Moieties

This ritual feast, held on all occasions of importance to the individual or to society, is also frequently the time when the principle of reciprocity between both moieties and localities is seen in full play.

At the feminine feasts, such as pregnancy, birth, first menstruation, and marriage, where there is a distribution of food, the women of the Eagle moiety bring taro which is given to the women of the Hawk moiety, and the women of the Hawk moiety likewise bring taro which in turn is given to the women of the Eagle moiety. This exchange is never omitted. The Eagle women bring their taro, prepare it for baking, and then place it in the liga themselves. They do not forget just where their bundles have been placed. Removing them from the liga, they give them to the women of the Hawk moiety, who do likewise to the women of the Eagle moiety. The taro is of course all exactly the same and prepared in the same fashion, so that one gets exactly what one has given. But it is the ritual exchange between the moieties that is important. At some feasts uncooked taro is exchanged. At the feast, when the men eat, this act of reciprocity does not take place among them: the food is opened up in the cemetery and the taro is distributed regardless of moiety.

Reciprocity Between Villages

It is the uncooked taro that is most often the object of exchange between the women of different villages at intervillage feasts—usually mortuary and malanggon ones. Sometimes the exchange does not always take place at the one feast. The women of Lesu may go to a feast at Ambwa, three miles away, and receive much taro. At a later time the women of Ambwa will come to a similar feast at Lesu and receive taro as a return gift.

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At other times the exchange may be effected at the same feast. In the same way, men of Libba will eat at a feast at Lesu, and later the Lesu men will eat at a Libba feast. A feast thus provides the occasion when both individuals and groups pay off their obligations.

Feminine Speeches about Husbands

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At the ritual feasts of circumcision, birth, and marriage, another custom is given an opportunity for expression. At these feasts it is customary for the women to make speeches about their husbands, as good or bad food-providers. The food is arranged in two piles, one contributed by the Eagle moiety, and the other by the Hawk. The Eagle women come on the scene together, each brandishing a masculine implement of work—a fishing net, a spade, etc. They circle around the pile of food contributed by the Hawk moiety, each woman in turn holding up a tool and making a speech about her husband. If she carries a net, she talks about his industry in fishing and how he very often brings her fish. Or she may say the opposite,—how lazy he is. Each woman makes her speech, and the "audience," male and female, listens to it with quiet appreciation. There are grins and chuckles during a speech about a lazy man, while he hangs his head in shame. When the women of one moiety have finished, the other women enter and go through the same procedure. The speeches show very clearly how much the man's prestige in his family depends upon his ability as a provider of food. These ritual feasts give the women the opportunity of publicly praising or blaming their husbands and they never let it pass by.

Daily Meals

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Feasts are of course not the only time when natives eat. When they get up at sunrise, they will eat a cold baked taro left over from the day before. But this is not a meal. The man will often munch his taro as he strolls about the beach, while the woman will eat her's casually as she tidies the house or collects her implements, baskets, etc. to go to the garden. In the middle of the afternoon, when they have returned from the gardens, if hungry, another cold baked taro will be eaten casually. But after the sun has set there is the family meal. The food for this is sometimes prepared by the wife, or wife and daughter together, and at other times the women of the hamlet may cook communally. The baked food is later taken to each individual household. There, in the open compound in front of the house, each family gathers around the fire and partakes of the common meal. Certainly this meal emphasizes the unity of the family and tends to foster those sentiments which hold the family together—just as the feasts keep alive the sentiments binding larger groups.